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Querela Temporum:

OR, THE

Danger of the Church of *England.*

In a LETTER from the Dean of ——— *to* ———
Prebend of

Dear SIR,

LET me employ some few Moments in venting my Thoughts to you at a distance, upon that Subject which has taken up so many of our Hours while we were together. The Impression grows stronger upon me now that I am alone, and left to the mercy of tormenting Reflections. The Ruin, which you and I have often bemoaned, visibly threatning our Church, is exceedingly magnify'd, and imbitter'd to me, and must be to us all, when we sadly consider how we have been led on in our Simplicity, like the Men that followed *Absalom*, to be the Instruments of our own Destruction: And have been engaged so far in it, before we were aware, that we are now afraid to look back, though we are astonish'd to think what the end of all may be.

I am sufficiently assured, That much the greatest part of the Clergy have come in to the Government, as you and I have

done, out of a Proſpect to preſerve the Church: For if all had ſtuck out, we did dreadfully apprehend that the Presbyterians, conſidering our King's Education and Biaſs that way, and their great Merit in the Revolution; (for we were but drawn in, and that late, by a ſeeming neceſſity, and unwillingly.) Our Reluctance, which we could not conceal (and at firſt many of us did not deſire to conceal it) was the publick Diſcourſe of the Nation; and ſo much taken notice of, that the Act impoſing the Oaths did not ſuppoſe that all the Clergy would take them, and therefore left a Proviſion for a certain Number of ſuch of them as ſhould refuſe the Oaths (which I am heartily ſorry has not been apply'd;) and thoſe of us who took the Oaths, did it with ſuch Diſtinctions, and Declarations, and Salvos, as made it plain to all the World, That we were not hearty in it, but had a doubting, which is a reſiſting Conſcience. Whereas the Presbyterians, and Common-wealth-men, (with ſome Atheiſts and Latitudinarians, who call'd themſelves of our Church, though no otherwiſe than becauſe it was Eſtabliſhed by Law) were at the bottom of the whole Contrivance of the Revolution; and Derided us to ſee into what a Nooſe they had brought us, that we knew not what to Reſolve upon: Whether to venture the Reproach of the Nation, by a Change of Principles (at leaſt as it would be thought) and to go in to the Government; or to leave K. *William* wholy in their hands who brought him in, and to run the hazard of all the Conſequences would follow from his looking upon the Church of *England* as his Enemies, and the Presbyterians as the only Church which would ſtick by him. I ſay, theſe Conſiderations, joyned with his own Inclination, and the little Zeal of the Generality of the Laity for any Church or Religion, farther than ſuited with their Intereſts, made us to apprehend, That if we had not taken the Oaths, the whole Church might have been over-turn'd all at once; and Presbytery, or Something like it, ſet up in its Place, as has been done in *Scotland*.

When theſe Conſiderations had determined us in this matter, we were not yet without great Fears what might be the Conſequence, on the other hand, that K. *William* could not poſſibly but ſee that our Converſion was Forced, and *Counterfeit*, and would (as ſuch Converſions always do) make us greater Enemies to him than we were before: And that therefore having ſerved his Ends by us, he would watch his time

to

to destroy us. That he might compass it more easily, though may be not so *speedily* by our Compliance, having by that made us cheap, and broken our *Authority* with the People. And (O my Friend!) how has he succeeded in that! If that was his Design. I believe no Age can produce so sudden and great a Change, as 'twixt the Affections of the People to us at this time, and what they were while King *James* was here. I am sure it is a changed World with us, whatever it may be to others! We were then *Hosanna'd*, and now it is next door to *Crucify*, while they cannot refrain shewing a Concern and Reverence for our *Depriv'd* Brethren. So that it is plain, the Cause of our *Contempt* is our Compliance with those who do now *Reproach* us: And it is needless to argue, That they are in the same Fault, and were first in the Fault, and drew or forced us in. They say we were their *Guides*, and ought to have led them, and not to have been led by them. They think it no great matter for them to be in a Fault; they think they have a Privilege to be less strict than the *Clergy*; and to be severe upon our Miscarriages, seems, in some sort, a *Vindication*, at least an *Alleviation* of their own: Which, though a very bad Argument, yet we suffer under it.

And it terrifies me to consider how much we may yet suffer by it, when I reflect that the *Inclination of the People* was made a sufficient Pretence to Root out Episcopacy in *Scotland*, notwithstanding that the Prince of *Orange*'s *Declaration* to that Kingdom from the *Hague*, before he came over, bound him to preserve their Church, as then *Established by Law*, as well as *ours*.

If you think that the *Inclinations of the People* can never be made a Pretence against *Episcopacy* in *England*; you will alter your Opinion when you see how little Reason there was for that Pretence in *Scotland*; as it is made fully appear in the *Defences* and *Apologies* of the *Episcopal Church* of *Scotland*, which have been printed Here since this *Revolution*: Which also give an Account by what Means and Methods a *Convention* was obtained there, which should Vote against *Episcopacy*.

As to the first, *The Inclinations of the People*; take the Account given in one of their *Apologies*, which was Digested into *Ten Questions*, and printed Here, *An.* 1690. which informs us,

'That the Nobility of the 'Kingdom, (a very few, not 'above a Dozen excepted) had 'all sworn the *Oath*, commonly 'called the *Test*, wherein all *Fa-* 'natical Principles and *Covenant-*

'Obli-

'*Obligations* were Renounced and 'Abjured: That not one of *Forty* 'of the *Gentry*, but had ſworn it 'alſo; and that not *Fifty* (Gen-'tlemen) in all *Scotland* (out 'of the *Weſt*) did upon the *Indul-'dence* Granted by King *James*, '*An.* 1687. forſake their *Pariſh* '*Churches* to frequent *Meeting* '*Houſes*.

'That the Generality of the '*Commons* live in *Cities*, and *Mar-'ket Towns*; that all who could 'be of the *Common Council* in ſuch '*Corporations*, or were able to 'follow any *ingenuous Trade*, were 'obliged to take the *Teſt* (and 'had generally done it:) That 'the Clergy ſtood all for *Epiſco-'pacy*, there being of about a '*Thouſand* ſcarcely *Twenty* Trim-'mers betwixt the Biſhop and 'the *Presbyterian* Moderator: 'Which Twenty, together with 'all the Presbyterian *Preachers*, 'could not make up the *Fifth* 'part of ſuch a Number as the 'other Side amounted to. That 'in all the *Univerſities*, there were 'not *Four Maſters*, *Heads*, or '*Fellows*, inclined to *Presbytery*: 'That the *Colleges* of Juſtice and 'Phyſick at *Edenburgh* were ſo 'averſe from it, that the Gene-'rality of them were ready laſt 'Summer (*viz* 1689.) to take 'Arms in Defence of their Epiſ-'copal Miniſters.

Thus that Author. And, which is yet a far greater Confirmation of all this to us, his *ſpiteful Pres-byterian* Adverſary, *G. K.* in his firſt *Vindication of the* (Presbyte-rian) *Church* of *Scotland*, which was writ in anſwer to theſe *Ten Queries*, and printed here in *Lon-don*, 1690. and reprinted at *Eden-burgh*, 1691. gives ſuch an Anſwer to this, as is a plain Confeſſion of it. He yields plainly, *all the Gang of the Clergy*, (as he calls them) *except a few*: The *Uni-verſities*, and *College* of *Juſtice*, at leaſt, *as lately ſtated*; and the *Ge-nerality* of the *Burgeſſes*.

But then he endeavours to make ſome Amuſements as to the ſo *univerſal Defection* (in his Senſe) of the *Nobility* and *Gentry*; not only in taking the *Anti-Preſ-byterian Teſts*, in the Reign of King *Charles* the Second (as *Fear*, *Intereſt*, and ſuch ſordid Excuſes) but in adhering ſtill to the *Epiſ-copal* Communion after King *James*'s Free *Indulgence*, 1687. for which no *Reaſon* can be given but their own *Inclinations*; the *Favour* from *Court* lying then ra-ther on the other ſide.

In another of theſe *Scots* Tracts, called, *An Account of the preſent Perſecution of the Church of* Scotland, publiſhed 1690. there in the third Letter we read,

'That in the Years 1687, and '1688, when the Schiſm was in 'its Elevation, there were but 'ſome *Three* or *Four* Presbyterian 'Meeting houſes erected on the

'*North-*

'*North-side* of *Tay*, *i. e.* in the 'greater half of the Kingdom; 'and these too very little fre- 'quented or encouraged. And 'that on the *South-side* of that 'River (except in the Five asso- 'ciated Shires in the *West*) the '*Third* Man was never engaged 'in the Schism.

In short, we are assured, as well by these Authorities in Print, as by Gentlemen of Sense and Reputation out of that Country, that not a *Fifth* or *Sixth* part of the People of *Scotland* did joyn, at that time, with the *Presbyterians*.

And that was the Time to shew their *Inclinations*, when they might not only do it without *Fear* or *Hazard*, but with all the Prospects of *Advantage* and *Preferment*.

How much more constant and firm were they to the *Church* in that Kingdom than in this! We did not bear the *Temptation* with so little Loss as they.

Every *Toleration* and *Indulgence* which has been granted in *England* has made much more Havock, and brought more Ruin to the *Church*, than we find this (the most dangerous one) has done in *Scotland*. We have not yet Recover'd from the Mischief of that in 1672. Before which our *Church* seemed to have taken some Root, and the *Dissenters* were wearing much out of Fashion; many of the Chief of whom, seeing a fair likelihood of the perpetuity of the *Church*, were content to suffer their Children to be Educated in our Communion; though themselves were ashamed to comply, after the long Oppositions they had made: Which shewed they were convinced both of the *Lawfulness* and *Expediency* of *Conformity*.

But *Fire* amidst *Gun-powder* does not work its destructive Effect more *suddenly*, than that *Toleration* Shook and Rent, and almost *Over turn'd* our *Church*. The very next Sunday after it was known, the *Churches* in many Places were almost quite Deserted, and the *Meeting-houses*, which before were Neglected, and Resorted to by but a few, and those little Regarded, were like Trenches, when the Sea has broke the Dykes, swoln and over-flown in a Moment.

And *Toleration* upon *Toleration* has brought *Ruin* upon *Ruin* since; that we are now Loose at the very *Roots*, and at the Mercy of every *Wind* and *Wave*.

And by the Accounts we have given us of *Scotland*, they are both more *universally* and more *zealously* Episcopal (especially if you consider the *Gentry* and *Nobility*) than the People even in *England*.

Of which there is another very great Instance, since the *Scots*

Treatiſes above quoted were wrote. And that is, That, notwithſtanding the ſeveral Acts of Parliament there for Aboliſhing *Epiſcopacy*, and Settling the *Presbyterian* Government, and all the fiery Zeal of the *Covenanters* now in Poſſeſſion, yet, through moſt parts of the *North*, and many other parts of *Scotland*, they, to this day, refuſe to admit the *Presbyterian Miniſters* who were ſent to them, or to part with their old *Epiſcopal Clergy*, though they neither *Swear* nor *Pray* according to the *Acts*: But keep them ſtill in Poſſeſſion of their Churches, and Renounce the Authority of the *General Aſſembly*, as not being Lawfully Conſtituted without *Biſhops*. And have lately publiſhed a Paper in the Name of *the whole Miniſters beNorth* Tay; and Twelve Miniſters at *Aberdeen* gave it, in their own Names, and the Names of all the reſt, to the *Commiſſioners of the General Aſſembly*, wherein they ſtand ſtill by their Depriv'd Biſhops: And as the *Repreſentation of the (ſaid) Committee of the Aſſembly for the North of* Scotland, *to the Privy Council of that Kingdom*, printed now by Authority in *London* this *October* 94. does expreſs it, They not only *plainly queſtion their Authority*, (*viz.* of the General Aſſembly) *but the Authority of the Law whereby the Government of this Church is ſettled.* Nay more, the *Deprived Biſhops* there do not only continue to confer *Holy Orders*, but to fill the *Churches* with thoſe ſo *Ordain'd*; and the *People* keep them in. As it is complained of in the ſaid *Repreſentation* which has been Diſperſed by the Presbyterian Faction through the *Coffee-houſes* in *London*, as an Aggravation of the Obſtinacy of the *Scots Epiſcopalians* againſt the Government, as they would have it underſtood; with ſome Queries added, to Diſengage us who have complied with this Government, from any concern for the *Scots Epiſcopalians*.

But if the Presbyterian Intereſt is ſo Low in *Scotland*, how came they of late Years to make ſo great a Noiſe here? Were *They* not the People who formed the Rebellions of *Pent-land Hills*, and *Bothwell Bridge*?

Yes. And were ſo eaſily quelled, as ſhewed the Party to have neither *Intereſt*, nor *Conduct*, nor any other Qualification to render them Conſiderable, beſides that of a *mad Zeal*; like our *Fifth-monarchy Men*, which, grafted upon *Præfervidum Scotorum Ingenium, & ad audendum aptum*, produced horrid Aſſaſſinations and deſperate Rebellions, without any apprehenſion of *Danger* or *Impoſſibilities*: For *quicquid Scoti agunt, valde agunt*; The *Scots* do every thing to the *utmoſt*.

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But how came that Party to gain such a *Convention* there, as to Vote *Episcopacy a Grievance*, and contrary to the *Inclinations* of the *People*, as it is expressed in their *Claim of Right*? This looks like *Management*, or else was very good *Luck*.

There was Both in it, as the *Scots Episcopal Apologists* do explain it to us; and shew the Arts of the Ministers of State who were employ'd in that Affair. That *poor Rabble* of *Covenanters* in *Scotland* were but the *Tools* who followed the *Cue* given them; they had other help than their own.

But there were some *Concurrents* in that *Juncture*, which contributed more than all the *Politicks*.

The Nation was in a violent Ferment; and every one almost, except those of the *Cabal*, were unwilling to Dip themselves in the First Act of a New *Constitution*, not knowing where it might end. Besides, the *Episcopalians* were, and are still, generally affected towards King *James*; and took as much Pains to keep themselves out of that *Convention*, as the *Presbyterians* did to come into it. All which did not (it could not) prevent many more of the *Episcopalians* to be Return'd than of the *Presbyterians*; the *Episcopalians* being so very much the major Number, especially among the better sort. But many of the *Episcopalians* would not Sit; and many who Sat once, quitted the House, and would appear no more; thinking it culpable to be there. And others were forced away to save their Lives from the Fury of the *Fanatical* Rabble, who were arm'd, and made the Guard of the *Convention*, as that extraordinary Man Sir *George Mac Kenzie*, and others. Sir *George Lockhart*, a most eminent Lawyer, and who violently opposed the *Vacancy* of the *Throne*, was *assassinated* in the Streets of *Edenburgh*; some say it was only through a private Pique, but that did not appear to all. The Archbishop of *Glasgow*, and others of the Clergy, were openly Insulted in the Streets, and no Remedy. And before the *Convention* was turn'd into a *Parliament*, the Bishops were, by particular Instruments sent to Duke *Hamilton*, then *Commissioner*, excluded from their Right of Sitting in Parliament.

Yet notwithstanding of all this purging, they could not get that Parliament so model'd, that, if but *Half* of them had Sat, they would ever have abolished *Episcopacy*, or set up *Presbytery*: And the *Scots Episcopal* Party do vouch, That there were not one *Third* part of the *Members* present, when *Presbytery* was there Establish'd.

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I am not now meddling with their Reasons, why they would not venture to Sit and Vote, at all Hazards. This is only to shew that no *Parliament* can be had in *Scotland*, which if Freely Sitting, would Abolish *Episcopacy*: And that the *Inclinations of the People* cannot be justly collected from what was done by that. Less than a *Third* part of a Parliament; and that gather'd together by strange *Artifices*, as the *Scotch* Accounts do inform us, as plain as they dare speak, in the Management of their *Election*, and of the Prince of *Orange*'s circular Letter, by which that *Convention* was call'd, being sent where Preparations were made for its Reception, by some Places *later*, and to some *not at all*, who yet had Right of Electing Members for Parliament.

Yet all this could produce no such Appearance in the *Convention* as would answer their Designs, but they were forced to take into that *Convention* Men Out-lawed for Treason, and under other *Legal* Incapacities to Sit in Parliament, by the *Laws* and *Tests* then in Force; as my Lord *Argile* himself, who, before his *Attainder* was taken off by the Parliament, Sat in that *Convention*, and was sent up *Hither* with the Tender of the *Crown* of *Scotland*.

And when they had done all, tryed all *their Ways and Means*, Legal and Illegal, what a contemptible Appearance was it which they were able to procure, at the first opening of the *Convention* or *Meeting of the Estates*, (as they stil'd it) which was the 14th of *March*, 1688.

Of this we have a certain *Record*, which is *the Acts and Orders of the Meeting of the Estates of the Kingdom of* Scotland, extracted out of their Register, and printed by Authority in *Edenburgh*, 1690.

There in the Act *Declaring the Meeting of the Estates to be a Free and Lawful Meeting*, the 16th of *March*, 1688. all there present do subscribe the said Act, and all their Names are printed in the said Act. And there were but *Fifty Burgesses* in that *Convention*.

Neither must we reckon upon all that small Number it self, as appears by their Fourth *Act*, which is entitled, *An Act for putting the Kingdom in a Posture of Defence*, the 19th of *March*, 1688. wherein we are told that several of the *Members* who had subscribed the former Act, had (in that three Days time) *Deserted the Meeting of the Estates, and presum'd openly to correspond with the Duke of* Gordon, *since the Proclamation of Intercommuning against him*,

him, and to Retire from this Place (Edenburgh) *in form of Weirt*; and therefore commands all from Sixteen to Sixty to Arm, *&c.*

The Matter was, many of thoſe *Few* who came to the *Convention* did not know the Deſigns of the *Managers*; which, aſſoon as they perceived, and that there was a Form'd Party to carry it on, they immediately quit the *Convention*, in *Form of War* (as that Act ſays) and openly Declared for King *James*. Among theſe was my Lord *Dundee*, who ſat the firſt Day of the *Convention*, and his Name is among thoſe who ſubſcribed the firſt Act above mentioned.

There were likewiſe *Seven Biſhops*, whoſe Names are printed the Firſt of the Subſcribers.

But their Archbiſhop (of St. *Andrews*) as ours, would not come into the *Convention* at all; and it ſeems all the reſt, but the 'boveſaid *Seven*, were of his mind. And that even theſe *Seven* were of thoſe who (as Lord *Dundee* &c) immediately quitted the *Convention*. I ſay, *immediately*; for they ſubſcribed on the 16th of *March*, and the *Hue and Cry* after them was in the 'boveſaid Act of the 19th of the ſame Month

So that if we are to make any Computation of the *Inclinations of the People* from this *Convention*, it will operate rather againſt the preſent Eſtabliſhment *There*, from the ſmall Appearance of the *Burgeſſes*, and their great and ſudden *Deſertion*.

But if the *Inclinations of the People* is beſt known by the *Senſe* of *Parliaments*, then it muſt follow, That all along ſince the *Reformation* the *Inclinations of the People of* Scotland have been for *Epiſcopacy*; which has been ratified and confirmed by 27 *Parliaments* in that Kingdom, (as they are Reckon'd up in theſe *Scotch Epiſcopal* Papers) and where no ſuch Objections, as in the preſent Caſe, can be Alledged. Add to this, what I think a plain Confeſſion, That the *Presbyterians* dare not truſt a *Free Parliament* in *Scotland*; and that is, that notwithſtanding the great Objection of a *Convention* (not called together in the Legal Form) becoming a *Parliament* by a Vote of their own, who were not a *Parliament* before that Vote, or any otherwiſe than by that Vote, by virtue only of the Words themſelves pronounced, when they ſaid *Hoc eſt Parliamentum*, (which ſome have compared to Tranſubſtantiation;) I ſay, notwithſtanding that the *Convention-Parliament* in *England* found it neceſſary, for this Reaſon, to have the *Convention-Parliament* diſſolved, and a new *Parliament* choſen by the *King's Writ*, in the uſual Form: Becauſe (as was truly alledg'd) the *Convention*

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was but in the Nature of a *Volunteer*, no Man being obliged to obey the *Circular Letters* of a *Foreign Prince* before he was declared *our King*. Nor did his *Circular Letters* import any other than a *Voluntary* Compliance which he expected ſhould be paid to them. And therefore the Subjects would not think their *Liberties* preſerved, unleſs they had the Antient *Freedom* of *Election* Reſerved to them, to chuſe Members to ſerve in *Parliament*, knowing before hand that it was to be a *Parliament*: For a *Convention* was new, both Name and Thing; and few underſtood either the Nature of it, or the Ends and Purpoſes for which it was ſummon'd; and to *metamorphoſe* that into a *Parliament*, and then to continue it as ſuch, would be underſtood as a plain *Cheat* to *Trick* the People out of their Votes. Yet all theſe (obvious) Reaſons, and the Example of *England* notwithſtanding, the *Presbyterian* Managers in *Scotland* dare not ſummon a new *Parliament*, but keep on ſtill the old *Convention* with the new Name of a *Parliament*: And though they know that many of the *Epiſcopal* Perſwaſion *There*, are ſo Zealous, upon the point of the *Government*, that they would not come in, though there were a new *Parliament*, yet the *Presbyterians* dare not truſt thoſe that might come in, againſt all their own Strength, and all the *Trimmers* they could Bribe or Frighten to their ſide. For they could never, by their Arts, compaſs ſuch a *Parliament* as would not ſpue out *Presbytery*, as *a Yoke which neither they nor their Fathers were able to bear*. They know it to be utterly impoſſible for them ever again to get ſuch a Company of *Conventioners*, as by their ſecret Intelligence laid (without oppoſition or ſuſpition of the Epiſcopal Party) leap'd together, and choſe one another, upon the Prince of *Orange's Circular Letters*, which were left wholy to their Management.

If all this be cauſeleſly alledged; let them convince us with the Free and Impartial Election of another *Parliament*.

Or give any other Reaſon why they will not, than that they dare not Truſt the *Inclinations of the People*; which they know to be the moſt averſe to them, and moſt deſervedly.

There is another Thing which extreamly ſhews the Weakneſs of the *Presbyterian* Intereſt there: And that is, That they would never have been able to have planted *Presbyterian Miniſters* there, if the Right of *Patronages* had continued; for there were but very few Gentlemen in that Kingdom, to whom *Advouſons* did belong, who would ever have

have *presented* any *Clerk* that was *Presbyterianly* inclin'd. Therefore all *Patronages* were taken away by Act of *this Parliament*.

After which one would have expected that the *Free Election* of the *People* should have been set up in its full Extent and Prerogative; because this was it for which the *Presbyterians* chiefly contended; they made it to be *Jure Divino*; and call'd it, *Christ's Legacy* to the *People*, and said it was *Indefeasible* and *Unalienable* from them.

But yet they were forced to Dispense with it, *at the First*, and put *the Calling* of *Ministers* into the hands of the *Presbytery*: For they found the *Inclinations* of the *People* Run against them, at least of much the major Number, as well as of the *Nobility* and *Gentry*; and therefore this Method was *necessary* (*though Antichristian*, by their own Principles) for the *first* planting of the *Gospel* (as they stile the Preaching of the *Covenant*) in that *Prelatical* Country.

Neither durst they, *for the time to come*, trust the *People* with their *Divine Right* of *Electing* their *Ministers*, without clogging this *Legacy of Christ* (as they call'd it) with such *Limitations* as they could not pretend ar to be found in *Scripture*. That none should Vote in the *Election* of *Ministers* till they first swore the Oath of *Allegiance* to K. *William* and Q. *Mary*, and sign the *Assurance*, for which an *Act of Parliament* is passed accordingly.

Yet, with all these Bars and Defences, they found very great Difficulties in planting those Churches, which they have planted with *Presbyterian Ministers*.

Who were so few in that Country, That they were forc'd to *Ordain* young Lads from *Shops*, or the *Plow*, as they could get them *Gifted*, without any *University* Learning: For these *Springs*, as themselves confess, were all *corrupted*; that is, in their Sense, were wholy *Episcopal*.

And in the *North* of *Scotland* (as confessed in the *Presbyterian Representation* above-told) they have got little or no Footing to this Day. In which parts they are so strongly *Episcopal*, that, as I read in a very accurate and ingenious Account of the Proceedings there about the *Convention* time. *It were no hard Task*, says he, *to give a just Account how* it only happen'd *that there was so much as one* Northern *Member* (*who was not such by Birth*) of the Presbyterian *Perswasion in the Meeting of the Estates*.

But there can be no such Demonstration, as their preserving their *Episcopal Clergy*, and keeping out the *Presbyterian*, against Repeated

peated *Acts of Parliament*; and that the *Privy Council* (which has *There* almost the Power of a *Parliament*, in the Intervals of Parliament) have interposed their Authority to Ratify the Decrees of the *Presbytery*.

Nay, even in their own Dear *West Country*, the *Presbyterians* found so much Difficulty, in some Places, particularly near *Edenburgh*, to perfect their *Reformation*, that they were forced to fill a Church there with *Soldiers* to fright the People from Singing the *Doxology*, from which they could not otherwise be Reduced. Was not this something like Dragooning! But I go on.

It may be thought Strange (Things being as here told) what Ground or Pretence could be found for Representing *Episcopacy* to be contrary to the *Inclinations of these People*.

And herein appears a *Subtile* but very wicked *Politick* of the *Managers* then at *Helm*.

They first had Arms put into the hands of the *mad Cameronian* true *Presbyterian* Rabble of the *West*, and then set them on to *Mob* the *Episcopal Clergy*, in those *Fanatical* Shires, which they executed in a most *Savage* Manner: And from thence they *Represented* the *Inclinations of the People* to be *irreconcilable* to *Episcopacy*. And upon Enquiry, I cannot find that there is any now, who insist longer upon that common Place of the *Inclinations of the People* of *Scotland*: It, like some other Stories has serv'd its Turn, except one *Sycophant*, who had Presbyterian Education, and from his Infancy was taught to Hate and Despise *Episcopacy*, who has Deserted his Church in *East Lothian*, and was Expell'd neither by Force, nor by the Rabble, nor any Sentence of any *Presbyterian Judicature*; but fearing that the Gentry of his Parish, to whom he was always most Disagreable, would lay hold of the present Opportunity to turn him out, when their *Inclinations* was made the Standard, he thought it convenient to leave the Place with less Disgrace.

And he is now encouraged by a certain Minister of State, to propagate that Notion here in *England*, that the Temper of the People in *Scotland* is against *Episcopacy*, and most inclin'd to *Presbytery*. And the Rabbling of the *Episcopal Clergy* in some parts of the *West*, is all the Argument.

This is all, and every bit of, the Ground the *Convention*, or any other, had to Represent the *Inclinations of the People* as averse to *Prelacy*.

Nor had they had this Pretence it self, *if All* the *People* even in those same *Fanatical* Shires, had

had been left to their own *Inclinations*: For when the *College of Justice* in *Edenburgh*, and others (in whom remain'd what was left of any Right to *Govern*, after King *James* quitted *England*, and before any other *Establishment* was Fram'd) took Arms against this *murdering Rabble*, in the Defence of the *Episcopal Clergy*, and *Themselves*, (for such an *Inundation* threatened *All*) a *Proclamation* came out from the Prince of *Orange* commanding *All* to lay down their Arms. This was obey'd by the *College of Justice*, and the rest of the *Episcopal* Party: (as thinking it tending towards Peace and Settlement:) But not at all by the others Saying they knew it was not intended against *Them*. And accordingly made use of it (their Enemies being thus Disarm'd) to commit more insolent Barbarities against the *Clergy* than before.

And in Reward for their Zeal, were not only continu'd in *Arms*, but made the Guard of the *Convention*, which soon after met, under their *Gracious Protection*, and acted by their *Influence*. *Theirs!* who thought it *Merit*, and the *Cause of God*, to *assassinate* the Archbishop of St. *Andrews* on the High-way; and declared it their Principle to *murther*, by whatever means, every *Bishop*; and every *King* and *Man* who took their part. *Theirs!* who for *Declaring* and *Acting* pursuant to such *Diabolical* Principles (though *All* the Genuine Effects of their common Mother the Covenant) were (out of meer Shame) disown'd by other their *Pharisee* Brethren of the *Presbyterians* for throwing off the *Sheeps Cloathing*, and acting the *Wolf* so plainly and above Board: For *Abdicating* not only the *Simplicity* of the *Dove*, but the *Prudence* of the *Serpent*, of whom they retain'd nothing but the *Sting*. And who could have any other thought than that *Episcopacy* was Reserved only for *Execution*, when it was placed under such *Cameronian* Guards?

And when the most Violent and Bigotted *Phanaticks* were made the Principal *Ministers of State?*

But who was it chose *those Ministers?* That must be the *Kings Inclination*. He chose them according to *his own Inclinations*; and then took their Word, for the *Inclinations of the People*.

And can we think his *Inclinations* are different in *England*, otherwise than as *Reason of State* moves him?

The *Experiment* must Begin in *Scotland*: And according to the Succes *there*, the Measures are to be taken *here*.

And do we not see the same *Measures* taken *here*, though

perhaps in somewhat a slower March?

Has not a certain great Man, of an Interest very contrary to that of the *Church*; one whose Treachery towards *it* has made him an irreconcilable and inveterate Enemy to *it*, been brought from behind the Curtain, where he acted so much Mischief unseen, and now in a manner publickly set upon the Stage? Has he not acted indeed as one desperate, and that knows himself unsafe under any thing but a *Fanatick* Party established in both Kingdoms; as one that can hope for no forgiveness from another Interest which he has so perfidiously treated, and where all those that are leading and respected Men know him so well, have felt him, and are sure neither to be imposed upon by him more, nor ever to forget what he has done to the Church, and against them as the Patrons of it? Have we not seen how things have turn'd since this? Was not not the whole Ministry changed to bring in that Gang? How had such a Fellow as *Jack Trenchard*, or *Somers*, been hoisted upon a sudden where they now are, but meerly on this Accompt, that they only were thought deep enough in a *Fanatick* Interest to carry on this Design, and to support this new Foundation of some great Men, who must make good what they are engaged in, and secure themselves by *thorow work*, or soon fall, and come to that end which they deserve?

My Lord *Nottingham*, a Man who they offer to reproach with nothing but his Fidelity to *our Church*, and his constant Care of its Interest; one of such allow'd Capacity, Vigilancy, and indefatigable Diligence in his Office, and of such known Fidelity to the Crown and this Government; such a Man as this we see of a sudden removed, and without any reason given (but what is thus plainly left for any one to infer) thrust out of his Employment, disgraced, and driven at as one ready to be Impeached; which Design it was no great wonder to see carried on under such as could not prevent their being themselves Impeached, were the Government as it ought to be, or the *Church* restored to that Place which it ought to have, and which one may very justly say *it must have*, unless *Monarchy* be design'd for Ruin.

The Justification which the Parliament last Year gave to the *Admirals*, after the most malitious and false Aspersions imaginable, did not hinder their being thrown out with all the Disgrace that could be put upon them. At least those Two that were the Chief, and chiefly noted

noted for their Firmneſs to the *Church*, were ſo ſerved. What are the reſt of the Changes in the *Admiralty*, and every where elſe? What are the *Ruſſels*, and the *Whartons*, that are now in ſuch Credit, and have their Friends every where advanced? Who knows not the *Cabal* at *Court*, and that Lord *Sh*—— who firſt went out of Court upon this bottom, and is now returned again upon the ſame, is of this Confederacy; and both too early, and too deeply, engaged with this Party to be a Head or a leading Man any where elſe?

Our Friends are ſhifted out apace. And now openly, and above Board, there have been new Regulations of all the Commiſſions of the *Peace* and *Militia* through *England*; of the *Lieutenancy* of *London*, the *Cuſtoms*, &c. on purpoſe to fill all with the *Fanatical* and *Whiggiſh* Tribe; who have out-grown us, and are too many for us, in all Places of *Truſt* and *Profit*.*

* *Either profeſſed and open Diſſenters, or the more dangerous Church Fanaticks; who keep in our Communion no otherways than as Spies; who ridicule us, and do us all the ill Offices that is in their Power; and but watch an Opportunity to deſtroy us, and our Conſtitution. Of ſuch Principles (moſt Iniquous to the Church) are the preſent* Attorney *and* Solicitor General, *and almoſt all the King's Council, as* Wi. Williams, *Serjeant* Tompſon, *Mr* Hawles, *&c. Baron* Letchmore, *Baron* Turton, *that little Baron Tell Clock Mr.* Bradbury, *and others upon the Bench. And with* Ruſſel *are joyn'd in the Commiſſion of the* Admiralty *that virulent Whig Col.* Auſten; *and* Rich *and* Hublon, *two rigid Fanaticks. Such are* Montague *and* Smith, *two of the Lords Commiſſioners of the* Treaſury, *indefatigable Sticklers for the Whig Party.* Papillion *and* Mayne, *in the* Victualling-Office; *and* Hill *of the* Navy-Office. *Sir* J. Foach, *Sir* Steph. Evans, Ed. Clark, Tho. Hall, J. Danvers, (*the only Son of a Regicide*) *and* Foot Onſlow *in the* Exciſe. Parkhurſt, Murray, Vernon, *and* Paſchal, *in the* Prize Office. *Col.* Kirby, Shepherd, *and* Welwood, *in that for the Sick and Wounded.* Aſhurſt, *in that of the Hackny Coaches; and* Franklin *in the* Poſt-Office. *And in the* Cuſtom-houſe, *Sir* Walter Young, *Mr.* Chedwick, *Sir* Patience Ward, *Sir* Robert Clayton. *And a long,* &c. *in other Offices and Places of Truſt through the Kingdom, too long to be here inſerted. The Whig, and (I know not which to ſay) Natural or Unnatural Libertine, the Lord* Sidney, *now Earl of* Rumney, *is made Maſter of the* Ordnance, *and Governour of the* Cinque Ports, *and* Dover Caſtle, *&c. And Whig, Sir* Tho. Littleton, *is under him in the* Ordnance.

Ordnance. *Lord* Cuts, *an Atheistical Whig, is made Governour of the Isle of* Wight. *These, and many more, are the Men now employ'd.*

Little needy Fellows are put into Employments of greatest Honour and Import, so they be but Fanatick *enough.*

As *Johnston* Secretary for *Scotland*, who the other day meerly for Bread travell'd with Sir *Rob. Barnard*, his Condition being then very necessitous, though he is now one of the chief *Managers* in both Kingdoms. His only Merit is the new fashion'd *Theism*, grafted upon *rigid Fanaticism*; the last of which he derived from his Father, that Arch Rebel *Warriston*, who was *Clerk* in ordinary to the *Presbyterian General Assembly* in his time, and as furious against the *Mitre* as the *Crown.*

Such another is that Infamous *James Stuart*, an *Inveterate Rebel*, and pardon'd by King *James*, now Knighted (*forsooth!*) and fills the Place of Lord *Advocate*, which answers to that of *Attorny General* here; but of greater Honour and Interest in the *State.*

Castairs, a *Super-presbyterian*, that is, a *Cameronian* Preacher, attends K. *William*'s Person, both at *home* and *abroad*, like a Jewel in his Ear: *We* make a Show in the *Chapel*, but *He* Exercises the Office of *Confessor* in the *Closet.*

His Advice is taken in all the Spiritual Promotions of our *Church*; and we feel the Effects of it very sensibly.

We see among the new made Bishops those who were formerly *Fanatical* Preachers; and those who, of all our Number, are least Zealous for the *Church*, and most *Latitudinarian*, for a *Comprehension* of *Dissenters*, and a *Dispensation* with our *Liturgy* and *Discipline.* The *Archbishop* himself has put on a strange *Moderation* that way.

The Tide runs strong both in *Church* and *State* towards a *Fanatical* Level. And the Pattern of the *Scotish Reformation* stares us in the Face, more Glaringly than in 42.

And let us remember, That the *Covenant* (now Rampant in *Scotland*) obliges them to carry on the work of that Reformation in *England*, as well as in *Scotland*, as they did before: And they have the *Impudence* to pray *publickly* for it now in their *Churches*, for our *Conversion* (as they call it) from *Prelacy*, which they call *Popery*; and *Idolatry*, that is, our *Liturgy.*

And yet their *Agents* there would make us believe, That they intend no Alteration of our Constitution in *England.*

But are we to be so Deceived now? Have we never been Deceived

ceived by them, in the ſame manner, before? How often did they proteſt to Marquiſs *Hamilton*, Commiſſioner for King *Charles* the Firſt, That they did not intend to aboliſh *Epiſcopacy*? [*Large Declaration*, 114, 115. 69. *and* 173.]

And they uſed to perſwade the Scrupulous, That they might take the Covenant without prejudice to *Epiſcopacy*.

In their Anſwer to the Fourth Reply of the Doctors of *Aberdeen*, they ſay, *You will have all the Covenanters againſt their Intention, and whether they will or not, to Diſallow and Condemn the Articles of* Perth, *and Epiſcopal Government.*—— *But it is known to many Hundreds, that the Words were purpoſely conceived for Satisfaction of ſuch as were of your Judgment, that we might all joyn in one Heart and Covenant.*

They had *Lower* and *Higher* Senſes of this *Oath*. Any thing to get you once within their *Circle*; and though they preſs the Obligation of it upon all alike, like the Artifice of ſome of the *Romiſh Emiſſaries*, who, to a Perſon tenacious of the *Reformed* Doctrins, repreſent the Church of *Rome* as little or nothing differing from us in *Fundamentals*, as they call them; and will let him keep all the Opinions they can't perſwade him from, only be reconciled to the *Church*, to avoid *Schiſm*: But when he is once in, then there is no ſtop, they can Drive him to the utmoſt. They bring in *many Hundreds* of their *private Doctors*, for the *lower Senſe* of their *General Councils*; as their *Spawn* of the *Covenant* do leave their *many Hundreds* of *private Perſons*, who they at firſt pretended knew their Minds in wording of the *Covenant*, to be much lower than the *Letter* of the *Oath* ſeemed to import.

But yet they would never afterwards allow any ſuch *private Interpretations*, as the true and natural Senſe of the *Oath*. But boldly charged them of *Perjury*, who in the leaſt Tittle departed from them.

And how many Oaths and Proteſtations had we from our *Engliſh Parliament* in 42. That they never intended the Abolition either of *Epiſcopacy*, or the *Liturgy*? But, on the contrary, they expreſſed a great Zeal for Both; till they had got a Set of *Fanatical Miniſters* in the *State*, and *They* then ſoon introduced *Miniſters* of the ſame Kidney into the *Church*.

And did not they *then* ſet up the *Inclinations of the People* on their ſide? And did not they carry it?

And yet they had not half the Pretence as now. For, before that Rebellion, *England* had been

long in the quiet Poſſeſſion of *Epiſcopacy*, without almoſt any Grumbling againſt it; and that but of ſo ſmall and inconſiderable a Party, as did not ſeem worth notice. Theſe Monſters were Bred, and Grew up, in the *Storm*: But ſince the *Over-flowing* of that *Schiſmatical Rebellion*, our Land has been Fertile of as many *Heterogenious* Productions, as the Mud of *Nilus* leaves upon *Egypt*. There are almoſt as many various *Sects* and *Armies* of *Diſſenters* now, as there were ſingle *Mutineers* at that time.

And oh! the Difference! *England* had a *King* then who was Bred from his Childhood in the *Epiſcopal* Communion, and *zealous* for it, even to *Martyrdom*.

But our preſent King had the Misfortune (to himſelf, and to us) to be Educated under the *Geneva* Model, made *Eraſtian* in *Holland*: And it cannot be imagined, That the Alteration of his preſent *Circumſtances* have wrought as great a Change in his *Principles*: That would be (if not a *Miracle*) to ſuppoſe him to be wholy *Latitudinarian*, and indifferent to all *Religions*; at leaſt as to *Church Government*, which is the Point *We* are concern'd for.

But (alaſs!) the Meaſures he has taken in *Scotland*, and *here* too (as faſt as it can go) has ſadly undeceived us; and given Demonſtration, That he is as zealous for his *Religion*, as any other *King* at leaſt.

In ſhort, it is evident, That King *James* never took more Pains to place ſuch *Miniſters* in the *State*, and *Biſhops* in the *Church*, as were, if not *Popiſhly affected*, yet leaſt Inclin'd againſt it, than K. *William* has done, by the ſame Method, in Favour of *Presbytery*.

And there is yet a farther Reaſon for him to put himſelf Intirely into their hands as ſoon as he poſſibly can; and that is, That he can never Truſt to *Us*: He ſees (we cannot keep it conceal'd) that much the major Number of the *Swearing Clergy* in *England*, and thoſe who are upon the Foundations of the Univerſities, are *Jacobites* in their Hearts; and many of them have not the Continence to keep it to themſelves, but Blab it where-ever they go: Inſomuch that the Nation has it by the End, That we are all *Jacobites*; at leaſt, we are all (except a very few) *Suſpected*, and that is equal to *Guilty*, in the Argument I am now upon.

Well, but whatever are the *King*'s Inclinations or Deſigns as to the *Church*, we Truſt to the *Inclinations* of the *People* that they are all for *Us*; and that therefore *his* Intereſt will perſwade him to comply with *them*.

First,

First, We have many and abundant Instances, since the Beginning of this Revolution, how far he can prevail with the *People*, at least with their *Representatives* in the *House* of *Commons*, to comply with *his* Interest or Inclinations.

Secondly, We have found the *Inclinations of the People* turn against us, in the late Rebellion against King *Charles* the First, when they were much more unitedly for us than they are at present.

Thirdly, The *Inclinations of the People* may be *pretended*, when it is not *True*, as we have seen in *Scotland*: And a Set of *Fanatical* Ministers of State may set up such a *Pretence* when they please. Pretences are the easiest found Things in the World; as we say, It it no hard matter to *find a Stick to beat a Dog*.

But towards making the most True and Impartial Computation that can be, as to the *Inclinations of the People* in *England* at this Day, in reference to *Episcopacy*, and the *present Establish'd Church*; Let us first take a View of the *Nation* in the General, and particularly of *London*, (and that not only as to the Differences betwixt *Us* and the *Dissenters*, but with regard likewise to their *Inclinations*, as Divided betwixt *Us* and our *Deprived* Fathers and Brethren,) then of the Two Houses of *Lords* and *Commons*: And these are the surest Steps I know whereby to compute the *Inclinations* of the People of *England*.

Now to take a General View of *England*; we sadly find, That the Reverence to *Religion* in the General is mightily abated, and, amongst very many, quite lost. And therefore a Dispute only about *Church Government* will be thought of very little Consequence with these.

There is a Spirit of *Atheism* gone out into this Land, especially amongst the Gentry of the first Magnitude; and Books are daily published, and greedily bought up, to render what they call *Priest-Craft*, the Object of all Peoples *Hate* and *Contempt*.

And will those who have no *Regard* for *Religion*, have any *Reverence* for *Church-men*? Those, who think *Them* and their Profession Useless, and a Cheat? And consequently an unnecessary *Burden* and *Charge* to the People, and therefore necessary to be removed. That they are kept up only by the Folly and Superstition of a few *Bigots*, who dare not *Think* out of the Road of their Forefathers; whom these *Vertuoso's* have taken all imaginable Pains to undeceive, and convert them to the generous *Latitude* and *Largeness* of *Thought* (as they call it) That if they cannot

cannot get rid of *All* Religions, to be *Indifferent* towards *All*; and to look no farther than the *Legal* Eſtabliſhment; or to conſider of *Religion* no otherwiſe than as it is part of our *Property*, made ſo by the *Laws*, and which therefore may be Alter'd by the *Laws*: At leaſt, as to *Church-Government*.

And how can we deny this, who have allowed of *Lay-Deprivations*?

Nay, Brother, I muſt tell you, That this *Latitudinarian* Principle has ſtrangely prevailed even among our *Clergy*; chiefly of the *firſt Form*, in whoſe hands all our Concernments lie, and the publick Affairs of the *Church*.

And now as to the Third Eſtate of Men in the Kingdom, the Commonalty; What can we expect from them, but to be led by their *Clergy*, their *Nobility* and *Gentry*? And do we not find it ſo? Some think our Party great from the Appearance in our *Churches* here in *London*. But the *Churches* in *London* will not hold the Tenth part of the *People* in *London*: And therefore a ſmall Proportion of the People will make a great Shew in our *Churches*. Beſides, the Generality of the People do give themſelves a Latitude to go to *Church* or *Meetings* indifferently; and ſince both are now equally Tolerated by the Law, they do not think it a Fault, at leaſt they cannot be *Cenſured*, nor they think ſo much as juſtly *Blamed* for it. I know ſeveral, even of the firſt Rank of the *Gentry*, who not only go to hear Sermons, but Receive the *Communion*, both at *Church*, and at the *Meetings*. This is a ſtrange proſtitution of our *Diſcipline*! But we muſt not now pretend to *Power*, if we can *Live*, we muſt *let Live*. Thoſe Days of the *Authority* of the *Church* are over: We now ſeem to be in the Height of the *Laodicean* State.

Again. Many of the *Commonwealth* Party (who canot love our Conſtitution) come to *Church*; ſome to preſerve their Places, and in reverence to the *Sacramental Teſt*; others, for meer *Faſhion ſake*; and not a Few, on purpoſe to Watch, and Report, and find Objections, or to make them.

By theſe means our Churches are fill'd. But when we have ſubſtracted All, but who came hither out of a pure Principle of *Religion*: And again, when we have ſubdivided from theſe, thoſe who think not that *Religion* conſiſts in *Epiſcopacy*, or any Form of *Church-Government*, but look only to the *Devotional* part, which they may think might be preſerved under any other *Form* of *Government* in the *Church*, as well as that of *Epiſcopacy*; though they may (perchance) like that

Beſt,

Beſt, as being moſt uſed to it. (All who were ſtrictly principled in the *Divine Right* of *Epiſcopacy*, and conſequently its *Independence* upon the *State*, are gone from us into the Separate Communion of the *Depriv'd Biſhops*: And many, though they keep in our Communion, are with them in their Hearts.)

I ſay, when we have ſubſtracted from thoſe who make their Appearance at our *Churches* upon ſolemn Occaſions, *All*, except thoſe who would be content to ſtruggle for *Epiſcopacy*, and for us now in Poſſeſſion, in oppoſition to the *Depriv'd Biſhops*, to ſtruggle for us, as the *Epiſcopal Laity* have done in *Scotland* againſt the *Laws* in Being, and the *Reigning Miniſters*, to the Hazard of their *Perſons* and *Eſtates*; when *All* but ſuch as theſe are ſubſtracted from our Congregations, I am afraid we ſhall have but little Reaſon to Boaſt of our Numbers.

And though Mens coming to *Church* is no ſure Sign of their being true *Church-men*; yet their Forſaking, or Neglecting the *Church*, is a certain Demonſtration that they are otherwiſe.

Add to this, a very *Fatal Dilemma* in which the *Diſſenters* have Caught us, and have Improv'd it amongſt the *People*, to our no ſmall Prejudice. For if we ſtick to *Paſſive Obedience* in the High Senſe, as it is contain'd in the *Homily againſt Rebellion*, we muſt condemn what we have done, and what we ſtill continue to do. But if we call that an Error, then we own that our *Church* has been all along, before this Revolution, a falſe Guide; and that the *Diſſenters* have taught the Truth, in this point of Doctrine: And then the People themſelves make the Application, that it is ſafer truſting to *Them* than to *Us* in other Doctrines. For, ſay they, the *Diſſenters* never went over to you, in any of their *Doctrines*; but you have gone over to *them* in This, which you Formerly preſſed as Poſitively and Zealouſly as any other *Doctrine* of the *Goſpel*; nay, more than moſt others, and as Indiſpenſibly neceſſary to Salvation.

And will a People thus prejudiced againſt us, be *zealous* for us? Zealous againſt the *Diſſenters* to whom we have at laſt ſubmitted, in our ſo long boaſted *Characteriſtical Diſcrimination* of *Paſſive Obedience*? How ſhall we retract all the hard Words we have given them for oppoſing that *Doctrine* which we now profeſs! For uſing thoſe ſame *Diſtinctions* which we now ſet up! And what Argument can we find to perſwade the People that we may not Deceive them in other *Doctrines*, as well as in this? Why

they ſhould Adhere to *us*, againſt the *Diſſenters*, who have kept their Ground, and not contradicted their own Doctrines?

Indeed our Caſe *here* is very difficult. It is needleſs *now* to Blame the Preaching of *Paſſive Obedience* ſo high in the former Reigns: The Fault is committed, we cannot deny it; and we muſt ſuffer under the Shame of it. And we have loſt exceedingly in the *Hearts* and *Inclinations* of the People *now* towards us, upon that account. They look upon us *Inconſtant*, and *Time-ſerving*. And that Character to a *Clergy-man* muſt forfeit all Mens Value and Eſteem for him: And conſequently for *All* that *Clergy*, or *Church*, of whom they have conceived ſuch an Opinion.

And tho you and I can vindicate our ſelves as to the Preaching of *Paſſive Obedience* in former Times; What is this to all that Generality of the Clergy who were never Weary, nor would give over upon that Subject? Who found it in every Text they could meet with? And preſſed it oftener, and more pathetically, than any Article of the Creed?

And though we did not preach for it, yet we did not preach againſt it. We let it go: Which the People think we ſhould not have done, if we thought it to be an Errour; and ſo *Fatal* a one as it muſt be, if it can be an Errour. They call this *Time-ſerving* in us *then*, as much as in the others *now*: And then our Subſcriptions to the *Homilies*, and Reading the *Declaration* of its not being Lawful, *upon any Pretence*, to take Arms, *&c.* are thrown in our Diſh.

And it is needleſs *here* to inſiſt upon our Defences; for the Enquiry we are *now* making, is not the *truth* or *untruth* of the Caſe, but only as to the *Inclinations of the People*; that is, How *They* take it, not how it is in it ſelf.

Thus far we have obſerved concerning the *People* in General, and in *London*: But let us now come nearer, and obſerve their Countenance in the Great *Repreſentative* of the *People*, The *Parliament*.

And *Here*, like drawing near to an ill Daub'd Landskip, the Strokes appear more Groſs and Diſproportion'd.

What a contemptible Figure do our Biſhops now make in the *Houſe of Lords*! It was never ſo known before. *No! Never!* They are obliged either to quit their Seats in that Houſe, or to bear the Railery of the *Lay-Lords* every Day, who think them a *Dead Weight* amongſt the *Peers*; of whom the greateſt part would be glad to be rid of them, not only

only out of *their House*, but out of the Nation.

And it may here be noted, That *Episcopacy* was in greater Perfection, and more primitive Independency, in *Scotland*, than with us here in *England*; and likewise as much fortified by the Civil Law, and set higher in the *State*, than (since the *Reformation*) in *England*.

The *Clergy*, there, are a Distinct *Estate* by themselves, and preferr'd, in all things, to the *Temporal Nobility*: For not only the two *Archbishops*, (as in *England*) but every one of the *Bishops*, do Sign before all the whole *Temporal Lords*; as may be seen in the Act above-mention, 16th of *March*, 1688 where all the *Convention* subscribed their Names; and the Seven *Bishops* who was there, did subscribe before Duke *Hamilton* (though then President of the *Convention*) and all the *Lay-Lords*. And their Subscriptions are thus Indorsed in the said Act: *The* Clergy *and* Nobility *subscribed thus*. When the Rolls in Parliament are called over, the *Bishops* are *all* first called.

The *Bishops* chuse *Lords of the Articles* out of the *Temporal* Estate of the *Lay Lords*.

In all things, the *Bishops* there are distinguished more plainly as a *Separate* Estate, and the *First* of the *Three Estates*, than with us.

But they have a yet much greater Advantage above our *Bishops* in their *Ecclesiastiacal* Authority.

They have no *Prohibitions* from the *Secular* Courts to hang up their *Excommunications*, or intermeddle in their *Spiritual Censures*.

The *Bishops* there are Absolute Judges of the Fitness of *Clerks*, presented to them for *Livings*. Nor give any Account hereof to the *Secular Courts*.

Nay more; they can Transplant any *Priest* in their *Diocese* from one *Parish* to another, as they shall judge their Labours to be more profitable in one Place than another, and there lies no Remedy for the *Priest* so Transplanted from the *Secular* Courts; of which I have been told Instances.

The *Civil Law* has made no such Inrodes upon the *Episcopal* Authority in *Scotland* as in *England*; and therefore our *Bishops* can plead no Exemption (more than they) from being cast out of the *Church*, whenever a *House of Commons* shall please to have it so.

There is, as St. *Cyprian* says, but one *Episcopate* in the whole World, of which every Bishop partakes Severally, yet in Common. *Episcopatus unus est, cujus a singulis, in solidum, pars tenetur.* Cyp. *de unit. Eccles.*

There-

Therefore the Caſe of *Scotland*, at preſent, is not only *proximus Utalegon* to us; but 'tis our own very Caſe, upon the common Bottom of Chriſtianity.

For if we give up the *Jus Divinum* of *Epiſcopacy* in *Scotland*, we muſt yield it alſo as to *England*. And then we are wholy *Precarious*.

And if in the *Church*, much leſs let us think that Biſhops are ſo eſſential to *Parliaments*, but that (as in *England* in 42. and *now* in *Scotland*) they may be Diſpenc'd with.

And the Houſe of *Commons*, as well as of the *Lords*, have, upon ſeveral Occaſions, minded them of their *Frailty*: And that what has been done, may be done, as well in this as in other Things. But more than all this, both Houſes of *Commons* and *Lords* have ſhewn their Love to us, and high Regard of our Conſtitution, in that they have diveſted us of all our *Authority* over the People, by their unlimited Act of Indulgence to all Sorts and Sizes of *Diſſenters*; and commanding that the *Eccleſiaſtical* Courts ſhall have no Power to proceed againſt any of them. And giving Power to the *Juſtices of Peace*, at their Seſſions, to Licence *Teachers* and *Preachers*, as it is in the Act of Toleration, 24 *May*, 89. *prim. Guliel. & Mar.* This has render'd our Church a perfect *Cypher*: And if any, or all, of our Flocks ſhould Deſert us to morrow, and go over openly to the *Diſſenters*, we have no Power left us, by this Act, to reſtrain any of them by *Eccleſiaſtical Cenſures*, or any other way; and the whole Nation have Liberty to believe any of their Communions to be as ſafe a way to Heaven as our own. And they have made full uſe of that Liberty: For how many do we meet with who do not believe it? And think it a thing indifferent which of our *Churches* they go to, as they term the *Diſſenters* and ours. They think them all to be *Churches*; and the *Law* giving equal *Liberty* to *All*, who dare quarrel with any for taking that Liberty to go to *Any* or *All* of theſe Churches?

Who can ſay the *Parliament* has done Ill? For if *Epiſcopacy* be not *Jure Divino*, why are they bound to ſet it up more than *Presbytery*, *Independency*, *Quakeriſm*, or any other Sort? Why have we made ſuch Conteſts about it, theſe Ages paſt?

But if it be *Jure Divino*, then it is out of the *Parliaments* Power to *Aboliſh* it; or even to *Diſpence* with, or *Tolerate*, any other Form of *Government* in the *Church*.

So that we muſt either Condemn what they have done in *Scotland*, and in *England* too, by this *Toleration*; or otherwiſe we muſt

must give up our *Jure Divino* Right, which we have endeavour'd to hold out so long against the *Dissenters*; and profess to hold *hereafter* by no other Tenure than that of an *Act of Parliament*, which now Grants equal Liberty to the *Dissenters* as to our selves.

But this Law does not only proclaim *Liberty* and *Indemnity*, but proposes *Rewards* and *Advantages* to all who shall leave us. Any, of any Sort, *in Orders* or *out of Orders*, who please to set up for *Teachers*, are, by this Act, *exempted from serving upon Juries, or from being Church-wardens, Overseers of the Poor, or any other Parochial or Ward Office, or other Office in any Hundred of any Shire, City, Town, Parish, Division, or Wapentake.* And these being Offices of *Charge* and *Trouble*, we shall be in a little time left to serve our selves; or the whole Burthen lie upon those Few whom their Neighbours will call Fools for not easing themselves of it, as they have done. The Effect of this may not appear considerably at first: But when the Taxes have Reduc'd more to Poverty; and the Envy and Spite to see their richer Neighbours excused, may operate more than we are yet well aware. If you think that no such Inconsiderable People will be allow'd of for *Preachers*: The Act excepts none. And the Allowance is Granted to the *Justices of Peace*: And there is no stint of Number. I can tell you an Instance came in my way at the *Easter* Sessions 92. in St. *Albans*; there came three poor Fellows for Licences to be *Preachers*, Two of them set their Marks instead of their Names, for they could neither Read nor Write, and they had their *Licences*: And one of them being after Return'd upon a Jury, pleaded his Privilege as a *Preacher* by the Act, and had it allow'd him. Nor indeed can the Justices Refuse either to give them Licences, or allow them the *Privileges* granted by the Act. One of these *Preachers* Names, I remember, was one *Bocket*; he lives in St. *Stephen's* Parish near St. *Albans*, and is a *Ditcher*, and *Day-Labourer*.

There are many such Examples through the Kingdom.

We may now see where our Authority is going, not to mention *Christianity*, at this Rate. That *Bocket* is now as Legal a *Teacher* as the *Archbishop* of *Canterbury*. This, Brother, is a fair Indication of the *Inclinations* of the *Parliament* towards us, of their Zeal to support the *Authority* and the *Reputation* of our *Church*.

Well: But they have left us in Possession of the *Rents* and *Revenues* of the Church.

That is indeed *All* that we have left. And how long ſhall we keep that, when the only Ground and Foundation of it is gone? that is, The *Authority* and *Diſcipline* of the Church, and the ſuppoſed *Neceſſity* there is of *our Church*. This is all the Ground and Reaſon there is for ſupporting and maintaining *our Church* more than *any other Church*; or for having *any Church* more than *no Church*. If none of them be *Neceſſary*, or *ours* no more than *another*, why ſhould we expect to Enjoy ſuch great *Riches* more than others? The Nation is not, or ſoon may come not to be, in a Condition to allow ſuch great *Penſions*, when they are meerly *Honorary*, and of no Neceſſity to the Nation.

The Biſhops Lands (as now in *Scotland*) may be ſold, either for the Carrying on the War, or to Reward many of thoſe Neceſſitous and *Sacrament taking Fanaticks* for Places of Advantage. There is no other viſible Fund for them; and they Expect it; and reſrain not ſometimes to Expreſs it. Our Titles being *Jure Divino* will not do: The *Impropriations* have ſpoil'd that. The Church, though over-run with Errors, was in far greater *Authority* and *Reverence* than now, when *Henry* the Eighth ſeized her *Revenue*; and had more and greater Friends to ſtand by her: The *Pope*, and all the then *Chriſtian Princes*, did Deteſt his Act as *Sacrilegious*, and were highly Concern'd to have it Rectified. And it was thought abominable by all *England*, except thoſe among whom he Divided the Spoil. But is there one Man in the World would be Concern'd for us, or Pity us, if we loſt all! Yet the *Inclinations of the People* is all we pretend to Truſt to. How have I heard ſome repeat with Pleaſure, that Prophecy which they aſcribe to old *Merlin*?

Henry *the Eighth pull'd down*
Abbys *and* Cells;
But Henry *the Ninth will pull*
down Churches and Bells.

By *Churches* and *Bells* they underſtand the *Epiſcopal Church* and *Ceremonies*; and there has been enough done in *Scotland* to fulfil the Prophecy, but that it was ſpoke of *England*. And they think that *Henry* the Ninth, and the time is now come. I lay not ſtreſs upon theſe ſort of Prophecies, but they ſhew the *Inclinations of the People*, when they are *pleaſed*, and no body *diſpleaſed* with Trumping up ſuch ſtuff upon us.

Add to this whatever ſtreſs you will lay upon the confident Boaſting of thoſe *Diſſenters* who are moſt in K. *Will*'s Intereſt and Councils, that all will be their own

own they make no doubt of it; only they would manage, as they think, wisely, and worm us out by Degrees. They told us, from the Beginning of this *Revolution*, that K. *William* would take his time to bring them into the chief Places and Offices of Trust; which we Thought, in our Honey Month, to be nothing but the vain Humour of that Party, and to create Jealousies betwixt the King and us, when we were endeavoring to exceed one another in our Caresses; which if they were meant no more sincerely on his side than they were by some of us, it was a Force on both sides; and not like longer to last, than the first Opportunity either could get to put themselves into hands they could better Trust.

They told us too, That he would begin with *Scotland*, and according to the Success he had there would take his Measures as to *England*.

There is not a Step has been made, which they have not faithfully and truly foretold. It is easy for *Managers* to be *Prophets* of what is *design'd*.

I wish what is to Come of their *Prediction* may not prove as True as what is Past. That is, That, having Divided the *Church of England* among themselves, they would, through Fears or Hopes, gain the major Number to come over to their Doctrine of *Resistance*; whereby, having proclaimed themselves to have been False-Teachers heretofore, they would easily prevail with the People not to Trust them for the time to come: And so, by consequence gain the Cry on their side, and have their turn in setting up upon the *Inclinations of the People*; and overturn Episcopacy *here*, as they have done in *Scotland*.

Indifference in *Lovers* is a certain Forerunner of a *Breach*. And the *People* of *England*, who were so excessively Enamour'd of us, when the *Bishops* were in the *Tower*, that they hardly forbore to *Worship* us, are now, I wish I could say but *Cool*, and *very Indifferent* towards us.

What the End of all these Things will be, is what, dear Brother, has tortur'd my Thoughts, and makes me vent them so freely to you, who, I know, partake, in a great measure, in them with my self.

But, O good God! If we have not been Sincere with Him, he knows our Hearts! If Temporal Advantages have been any Bias's to us! Or if, as *Uzzah*, we have put forth our hand, beyond our own Rank and Order, going but in the least out of the plain Road of our Duty, tho, as we thought, to save the *Ark* from falling, oh! what will our Judgment

ment be! If thoſe Methods we have taken to preſerve the *Church*, prove, as it ſadly now threatens, to her and our own utter Deſtruction! We ſee the Enemy already *Roar in the midſt of our Congregations, and they have ſet up their Banners for a Token*: We ſeem now to hold our Poſt but at their Diſcretion, till they are ready to give the Word, as in *Scotland*, No more *Epiſcopacy!* No more *Church of England*! But we ſhall not fall like them: They fell altogether, every *Biſhop* in the Kingdom, and almoſt the whole Number of the inferiour Clergy. They may riſe again, and will riſe Glorious, aſſerting ſtill the ſame Principles as we did before in the Reſtoration, 1660. But as for us now, *Whether ſhall we cauſe our Shame to go?* Will not the *Scots* upbraid us? Where was our Zeal for *Epiſcopacy*, or Foreſight of our own Danger, when we ſtood ſilent by, and ſaw their Fall, without putting in one Addreſs, or ſhewing the leaſt Concern for our Brethren? They will mind us (for we have not thought of it) of the Zeal which the *Engliſh Biſhops* ſhew'd in the Caſe of the Archbiſhop of *Glaſgow*, unjuſtly Depriv'd by *Lay-Authority* in the Reign of *Charles* the Second, though there was an *Act of Parliament* there to countenance it; they Eſpous'd it as their own Cauſe (for ſo indeed it was) till they prevail'd with the King to have him Reſtor'd. But now we could ſee not only all the *Biſhops* in that Kingdom, but our own Renowned *Metropolitan*, and near half of the then *Biſhops* of our own Kingdom, Depriv'd by meer *Lay-Authority*, (not to mention the Diſpute of the Validity of that *Lay Authority*, and the Cauſe, which none of us did think ſufficient for a Deprivation) without Interpoſing one Word on their behalf; or ſo much as for having that Allowance made good to them which was provided for them by the Act of Parliament, either by K. *William* to whom the Act entruſted the Diſpoſing of it; or if not from his *Juſtice*, yet at leaſt from the *Generoſity* of thoſe who came, Unwilling and Sorrowful, as they pretended, into their Places. Nor did our *Convocation* once complain of the Abſence of their *Archbiſhop*, and ſo many of their other *Biſhops*, or make any Addreſs on their behalf, or deſire any Conference with them, to know their Reaſons, and endeavour any Accommodation. No; we did none of theſe things: We were ſeiz'd with, I know not what, panick Conſternation. Though all were well Inclin'd, and every one would gladly have been a *Second*, yet none durſt *Begin*. We were

Paſſive

Paſſive here to a ſuperlative Degree: Our Courage and our Souls have left us. We lie under the Load, though we ſee our ſelves ſinking with it. What is this but *Infatuation*! and the End muſt be *Deſtruction*. But now, at laſt, if we have any Spirit left; though we have not made any Addreſs, or ſhewn our ſelves Concern'd for the Caſe of our Brethren in *Scotland*, or for our Depriv'd Biſhops and Clergy *here*; yet let us not ſit ſtill, and, by a ſupine Negligence, be ſo wanting to *our ſelves*, as at leaſt not to Petition, to Repreſent our Fears and our Danger to the King and Government, to Deſire ſome Redreſs to our juſt Grievances; That there may be an Alteration of the Perſons employed in publick Offices, and ſuch only ſet at the Head of Affairs as are ſincerely for the *Church of England*; and let us make our Exceptions againſt thoſe whom we know to be of a quite different Intereſt. We ventur'd upon all this, and more, to King *James*, and had good Succeſs in it. Who knows but upon our appearing Zealous and Active for the Safety of the *Church*, others of our Flocks may joyn with us? At leaſt, they will Approve and Juſtify us in aſſerting *our* and *their* true Intereſt. But who will ſtir for us, or ſtand by us, if we Dare not ſo much as open our Mouths in our own Behalf? It is our Office to Lead and Inſtruct them: They will love us the better for it. And we may, by this, Recover many whom we have loſt. But we ſhall looſe all, if we Render our ſelves wholy Inſignificant and Inſenſible of the Encroachments which are daily made upon us: And our Poſterities may curſe us, in whoſe Power it was to have ſtem'd this Tide, if we had taken it in time. The People will never believe that we can be hearty to them, and ſtand in the Gap for preſervation of their Rights and Privileges (as we have heretofore done, and were Honour'd for it) while they ſee us ſo very Diſpirited and Negligent in our own.

At leaſt this we ſhall Gain by it, That if a Deaf Ear be given to all our Applications, we may then reſt aſſur'd of what is Determin'd againſt us.

17 *July*, 1694.

FINIS.